

• 437 /10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
441 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
[191] he will call chuyfikh, without analyzing too much the legal
character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism. Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions. Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephano-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periphrasis; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal; one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for 174
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâi in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâi, the Seksawa, all

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an unidentified
 101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
 634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
 778 An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
 772 at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
 312 weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
 Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
 E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
 of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a
 wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
 Msddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
 Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
 133 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
 778 cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
 133 Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
 778 foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
 133 Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
 133 Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
 the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
 173 These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
 824 so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
 437 fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
 226 shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
 824 indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
 and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
 and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
 color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
 101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
 334 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
 103 are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
 tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
 Jâma, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
 Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
 on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
 Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
 there.

773 /271 cont./

776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 ~~leaves~~ of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

776 But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
794 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sfid of the a. Tamment
[431] 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[735] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ^cAyad, still in the
Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast
every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit,
and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Asstif.
Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter,"
that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Cçghlr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme,
like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The pro-
portionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself
is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin
s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for
100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of
butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in
order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the bene-
ficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by
geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futūh'ât. They inherit
794 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or
• 437 assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a
mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it
that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I
may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the
case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere
closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the
ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/271 cont./

794
437

in series, whose complexity doubtlessly offers an interesting clue, but about which we are still unable to say whether it is authentic or results from a deformation of the system.

/The next two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ During the agricultural periods suitable for collection the jemfa takes in the quota of each one and stores it in a traditional location: the mosque at Awines, an ad hoc chamber at Wanz'id', for example. Upon the arrival /272/ of the titular (let us take in this case at hand the representative of Sidi Abdallah u Sfid of the a. Tamment), the products are sold. Most often they are sold at auctions, according to the mode giving rise to free contests and charitable works, which is commonly observed in this kind of thing. But sometimes, too, at Tagenza among others, this grain is bought at the market price by destitute citizens who lack the beasts of burden to provision themselves in the plain.

Lastly, it happens that the gift may be "portable": this is the case for the large collective dues for sidi Ah'med u Ali. Once gathered together in the mosque of Awines, they are sold at auction, and it is the cash that will be paid to the saint by a delegation from the taqbilt. In the course of recent years, this sale has produced a sum of 25 to 30,000 fr. for the cereals alone, which, if one applied the rule of 1/80, would lead to an evaluation of a harvest of some 2,500,000 fr. for the Bas /Lower/ a. Lh'sen: an interesting economic indication, because it is a matter of about a hundred foyers.

Fiscal exactitude, distributive sharpness, rigorous calculation in the assessment of the charge and the collection of the product, but also reveling at the time of payment, joyous release of the auctions, ostentatious generosity in its place: all these aspects join to make of this system of dues, punctuating the agricultural year, a rich source of religious feelings and juridical ideas.

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
•437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the ghour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
361 Senhaja of the Deren and the Ait 'Atta of the Saghro. The hum-
[443] ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
mouzen play the same role with respect to the Ait Waouzgit, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

[233] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[438] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks
/souks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations.

The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring
and summer is enough to make one understand the importance
of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which
the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and
seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction
followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small
states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last
slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands
that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so ex-
tended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of
the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on
the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for
each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great
routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to
facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which
the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms,
which give each of them a true originality and explain the

/249 cont./

423 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).
171

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" consti-
794 tuted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the
621 manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at
437 auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as
423 belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it
579 seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining
486 security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to
651 plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to
the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often
been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the